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ABSTRACT

This study investigated language attitudes and Japanese language maintenance among a group of second-generation Japanese in Melbourne (Australia). Subjects were 66 Japanese high school students (second-generation) attending Japanese-language schools and 109 Japanese mothers (first-generation) self-identified as Japanese-identity, non-Japanese-identity, and indifferent to ethnicity. The latter group was further divided into war brides, Non-Japanese-Spouse (NJS) wives, and Japanese-Spouse (JS) wives. Data were drawn from a questionnaire survey, matched-guise technique, and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality survey. Results suggest that social identity determines children's language maintenance, with children of Japanese war brides likely to shift most rapidly to English, followed by those of NJS wives. Overall, children's Japanese use is declining in the home and in interactions with Japanese spouses. Children whose mother has non-Japanese identity are especially likely to shift to English rapidly, so Japanese spouses' identity, particularly Japanese wives' social identity, is one factor that influences children's Japanese maintenance or shift. Contains 20 references. (MSE)

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LANGUAGE ATTITUDES IN THE SECOND GENERATION JAPANESE GROUP IN MELBOURNE

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1. Introduction

Various Japanese immigrant communities have established themselves outside of Japan but rarely has their position undergone sociolinguistic analysis or, for that matter, received much general attention (Kanazawa and Loveday 1988).

The aim of this study is to analyze and describe language attitudes and Japanese language maintenance among the second generation Japanese group in Melbourne, Australia. We will argue that it is important to demonstrate the interaction between children's language attitudes and their Japanese mother's ethnolinguistic identity process as an influential factor in children's maintaining Japanese and shifting to English. To this end we will first discuss the language situation in Melbourne. Then, we will review Australian research on language maintenance (hereafter called LM) and shift (hereafter called LS). Finally we will present the results of our research, which highlight language attitudes, perceived group boundaries, children's Japanese maintenance and ethnolinguistic vitality. The findings indicate that the second generation Japanese group tends to consider Australians to be more favorable than Japanese in terms of competence and solidarity. Furthermore, they indicate that children rapidly shift to English irrespective of their mother's social identity.

2 The language situation in Australia and Melbourne

Australia's total population at 31 December 1992 reached an estimated 17,568,700 (Shu et al. 1994). Of the total population, over 3.7 million people living in Australia (22.3 per cent of the population) were born in an overseas country. The post-world war II migration program which brought 3.5 million migrants and refugees to Australia has been largely responsible for such a complex ethnic composition. Because of a recent transformation of the major source countries of immigrants to Australia during the 1980s, more than 50 per cent of settler arrivals came from Asian countries during that time. In contrast, settler arrivals from European countries have become fewer in number. These changes are likely to cause great diversity in languages spoken at home in Australia.

In such a situation, languages spoken at home in Australia cover English, and languages other than English including Aboriginal languages. After English (13,902,500), the languages most widely spoken at home are Italian (418,800), Greek (285,700), Chinese languages (250,000), Arabic including Lebanese (162,900), German (113,300), Vietnamese (110,100), Spanish (90,300) and Polish (67,000) (Castles 1993). The number of Japanese speakers have greatly increased from 1981 to

1991. At present Japanese speakers are estimated at 21,100 in Australia. 20.8 per cent of these were proportion born in Australia (Castles 1993).

Such a distribution of languages spoken at home in Australia is reflected in the case of Victoria. After English, the languages most widely spoken at home in Victoria are Italian (173,995), Greek (127,329), Chinese languages (72,152), Vietnamese (36,418), German (31,615), Arabic including Lebanese (31,391), Macedonian (29,525) and Maltese (27,132) (Crockett 1991). The Japanese speakers are estimated at 4,311 (1,863 males and 2,488 females) in Victoria, which is 0.1 per cent of all the languages spoken at home. The size of the Japanese-speaking immigrant community in Victoria is almost equal to those of speakers of Hindi (4,905), Portguese (4,232) and Ukranian (4,589).

3. Australian research on language maintenance and shift

3.1 Approaches to the study of language maintenance and shift

Australian research on LM and LS has drawn heavily on overseas (especially American) model and methods (Clyne 1991: 224). With the publication of Fishman (1966), sociology of language perspectives took a more prominent place in Australian research and have tended to 'assume an isomorphism of nation/state and ethnolinguistic group' (Pauwels 1988: 85): for example, the language use patterns of Poles, the Dutch, the Italians, the Greeks, the Chinese, the Maltese, the Serbo-Croatians, the Russians, the German and the Swedes. The research has also drawn attention to a diversity of ethnolinguistically distinctive subgroups. In recent approaches to the study of LM and LS, linguistic, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, sociology of language, social psychological and demographic methodologies have all been employed and combined in research on LM and LS.

There have been a number of studies of the language use of immigrants of non-English speaking background in Australia, most of which have concentrated on frequency of language use in particular domains, and language competence. Both large-scale studies based on census statistics and small-scale ones using questionnaire and case histories, have indicated significant variation in the maintenance rate of community languages in Australia. Most researchers have discussed LM and LS in terms of gender, age, exogamy (mixed marriage), the institutional resources, language attitudes (language as a core value), size and distribution of the group and cultural distance between the host and minority communities (Clyne 1991; Pauwels 1985).

Several recent studies on LM and LS have also been conducted in an intergroup perspectives, making use of the matched-guise technique. The notions of social identity theory and perceived ethnolinguistic vitality advocated by social psychologists such as Tajfel and Turner (1979) and Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) have stimulated the research on LM and LS of the ethnic languages in Australia. Several studies have already suggested that language attitudes are susceptible to considerable variation, depending on the level of self-categorization salient to the perceiver (Bourhis, Giles and Tajfel 1973; Hogg, Joyce and Abrams 1984; Abrams and Hogg 1987).

3.2 Maintenance rates of Australian languages

Statistical data from census and research have indicated a rank ordering of language retention rates in Australian ethnolinguistic groups, based on proficiency in English of people aged 5 years and over who spoke a non-English language at home. The issue of varied language maintenance outcomes and possible explanation for them is pursued at length in Clyne's analysis of 1976 and 1986 Australian census data (Clyne 1982; Clyne 1991) and Price's (1990) corroborated research through the cross-tabulation of the 1986 Census language data and responses to an ancestry question ('What is this person's ancestry?'), included for the first time in that Census. These studies show that all ethnic language groups are experiencing a LS towards the use of English only, though at different rates, and that for all groups the shift is more remarkable in the later generations than in the first generation. In Pauwels' study of the effect of intra-ethnic and inter-etnic marriages on the language use of Dutch-born post-war migrants, she found that the factor of exogamy impaired the maintenance of Dutch. Thus the influence of the marriage factor is very considerable on langauge use patterns in the second generation and the later generations.

Japanese ethnic group showed 88.3 per cent in LM rate in the first generation and showed a drop in LM rates from 77.2 per cent in the second generation to 18.0 per cent in the 2.5 generation (Price 1990). A certain sutle difference is also reported on Japanese maintenance rate by gender (ABS 1991). Male Japanese maintenance rate was 88.8 per cent while female Japanese maintenance rate was 85.1 per cent. The tendency for males to retain Japanese better is a reflection of intra-marriage patterns. Males in the Japanese community out-marry much less than females in the first generation.

4. Methods

The conceptual framework for our study is based on Giles and Johnson's (1987) study, that is, an integrated theory of social identity, in which the intergroup processes and situations are integrated in terms of Tajfel's concepts of "social categorization", "social identity", "social comparison", "psychological distinctiveness", "cognitive alternatives" and "group strategies for social change". Social identity theory holds that an individual's personal identity is hgihly differentiated and based in part on membership of significant social categories, along with the value and emotional significance attached to the membership. It also implies that categorization is regarded as a basic cognitive process in stereotyping. Finally, an integrated theory of social identity stresses that the process of social comparison cannot be worked out without specification of aspects of the wider social context in which groups interact.

An assumption underlying this theory is that linguistic change is first and foremost social identity and a social phenomenon, which has its source in syncronic heterogeneity in the speech community. This integrated theory of social identity provides a theoretical framework from which to assess the process of emergence and disintegration of social identities and the resulting language attitudes and LM or LS. Giles and Johnson (1987) propose a number of factors in influencing the salience of ethnolinguistic group membership, including: (a) perceived ethnolinguistic vitaltiy; (b) perceived group boundaries; (c) multiple group membership. Particularly, the former two factors were examined in this research in relation to the identity of both the first and the second Japanese speakers.

4.1 Participants

For this research the first generation Japanese immigrants are defined as people who have immigrated into Australia and who have a permanent visa in Australia. The second generation Japanese group in Australia is their children. War brides are defined as Japanese wives who married Australian soldiers in Japan after the World War II and who entered Australia just after the war.

First, to examine language attitudes of the second generation Japanese group, subjects were taken from sixty-six Japanese high school students (34 males and 32 females) aged 12 to 15, attending the Japanese School of Melbourne and the Melbourne International School of Japanese. Then, to examine the effect of social identity of the first generation Japanese speakers' social identity, we divided all participants into two types of groups according to social identity and gender. First, to examine the effect of

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participants' social identity on children's Japanese maintenance, we divided all participants (109: 33 males and 76 females) into three types of subgroups in terms of self-identification: Japanese identity group (N=80; hereafter called JI group), non-Japanese identity group (N=12, hereafter called NJI group) and indifference to self-identification group (N=15; hereafter called I group). The non-Japanese identity group consists of further three subgroups: Japanese-Australians (N=7), Australians (N=2) and Australian-Japanese (N=3). Secondly, to examine the effect of Japanese wives' social identity on children's Japanese maintenance, we divided female participants into three subgroups of Japanese wives ($X^2(4)=33.407$, $p<.01$): war brides (N=8), non-Japanese spouse wives (N=24; hereafter called NJS wives and Japanese spouse wives (N=25; hereafter called JS wives). All of the seven war brides identified themselves with non-Japanese: Japanese-Australians and Australians. Nearly 80 per cent of the both the NJS wives and the JS wives still regarded themselves as Japanese. However, 8.6 per cent of the NJS wives regarded themselves as non-Japanese while none of the JS wives did so.

4.2 Data collection and procedures

Three types of data were collected from the first and second generation Japanese speakers by means of questionnaire surveys, the matched-guise technique and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality survey conducted by the author in 1992. First, parental evaluation of their children's habitual language use patterns in the home and language acquisition were examined through a set of questions which were formulated in terms of acquisition of the first language, preferred use of language, and the frequency of linguistic interaction in the home.

Secondly, vitality perceptions were examined. A Subjective Group Vitality Questionnaires (SVQ) adopted for Melbourne was completed by three subgroups of Japanese wives living in Melbourne: the war brides, the non-Japanese spouse wives and the Japanese spouse wives. SVQ was originally proposed and devised by Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal (1981). Their version of the SVQ contains twenty-two items which are statements about social status, demography and institutional support. On all of the twenty-two items the subjects in their research were asked to rate on a seven-point scale the ingroup itself or its language (the Greeks or Greek language) and the outgroup ot its language (English-Australians or English) on certain statements dealing with group vitality in Melbourne.

Finally, following the study by Lambert, et al (1960) which assessed language attitudes using the matched-guise technique representing the speech evaluation

paradigm, the present study also examined the language attitudes of the first and second generation Japanese speakers, using almost the same format as done in previous matched-guise technique studies. This technique involved the use of tape recordings of speakers who each read the same text in two or more different guises, i.e. different languages, dialects or accents. Respondents are then asked to listen to these recordings and, on the basis of voice cues only, to evaluate the speakers in terms of given personality traits, using Likert judgement scales of this type. They are kept unaware that the recorded voices are not all of separate individuals, but include matched guises of the same speaker.

In the first experiment, language attitudes of the second generation of Japanese speakers were examined. Of the four speakers three were Japanese and one was Australian. The age of four speakers ranged from 12 to 15. There were two boys and two girls. Their English was checked by three native speakers. As a result, Y, who was a 13 year-old Japanese girls, was judged to speak English with a Japanese accent. KA was recognized as speaking English with a broad Australian accent. M and KE's English was assessed as being a general Australian accent. Twelve scales were taken from some of those used by Anisfeld and Lambert (1964): tall, good-looking, kind, wise, helpful, trustworthy, amusing, friendly, interesting, intelligent, self-confident and wise. They were used, in each case separated by a five-point scale (1=extremely disagree; 3=no opinion; 5=extremely agree). In the second experiment, language attitudes of the first generation Japanese speakers were examined. Eight scales were adopted from Saint-Jacques (1977): good looks, height, integrity, kindness, diligence, sense of humour, sociability and frankness, because these were related to basic stereotypes in the perception of American English and Japanese by Japanese subjects. They were used, in each case separated by a five-point scale (1=absolutely disagree; 3=no opinion; 5=extremely agree).

The responses of the questions on the questionnaire , the SVQ and the matched-guise technique were analyzed, using a simple computer analysis. The chi-square test was applied.

4.3 Results

4.3.1 The effect of the whole participants' social identity

4.3.1.1 Perceived group boundaries

In this section two main aspects in relation to perceived group boundaries are examined: acculturation and attitudes towards endogamy for themselves. We present data elicited from the questionnaire. Identity difference appeared saliently in the areas

of naming of children, perceived assimilation into Australian society, and endogamy for themselves.

Concerning naming of children ($X^2(4)=21.242$, $p<.01$), there were noticeable differences in the three groups. Only a small proportion of the NJI group gave their children Japanese names whereas almost half of both the I group and the JI group did. In contrast, well over half of the NJI group gave their children Australian names. Less than 15 per cent of both the I group and the JI group gave their children Australian names. Moreover, almost twice as many respondents of the J group as those of both the NJI group and I group used both names.

Table 1: Naming of children: JI group vs. NJI group vs. I group (%)

	JI group (N=58)	NJI group (N=9)	I group (N=13)
Japanese form	44.8	11.1	69.2
Australian form	10.3	66.6	15.3
Both form	44.8	22.2	15.3

In terms of perceived degree of acculturation ($X^2(1)=4.475$, $p<.035$), there was no difference in the three groups, but subtle significant differences were also found when the NJI group and the I group were combined. The respondents of the NJI and I group perceived themselves to acculturate themselves into Australian society more strongly than those of the JI group.

Table 2: Perceived degree of acculturation into Australian society: JI group vs. NJI + I group (%)

	JI group (N=80)	NJI + I group (N=25)
Positive	64.2	84.0
Negative	35.7	12.0
Don't know	0.1	4.0

There were also noticeable patterns in attitudes towards endogamy for themselves ($X^2(4)=10.339$, $p<.05$). The JI group had the most positive attitudes endogamy for themselves, followed by the I group and the NJI group. Naturally, it was the NJI group that had the most negative attitudes towards endogamy, followed by the I group and the JI group. There was a higher unsure response rate (about 52 % on average) for every group.

Table 3: Attitudes towards endogamy for themselves:
JI group vs. NJI group vs. J group (%)

	JI group (N=81)	NJI group (N=10)	I group (N=14)
Yes	44.4	10.0	28.5
No	4.4	40.0	14.2
Don't know	50.6	50.0	57.1

The differences in self-identification of the three groups were salient in the areas of naming of children, perceived degree of acculturation and endogamy. Overall the low percentages of Japanese names and negative attitudes towards endogamy demonstrated a change of atttiudes towards favouring integration into Australian society. The JI group tended to show a hard perceived group boundary while both the NJI and I group tended to show a soft perceived group boundary.

4.3.1.2 Children's language maintenance

Considering that both the NJI group and the I group (hereafter called a combined group) have negative attitudes towards Japanese identification, we can see that parents' self-identification has a certain significant influence on their children's preferred use of languages ($X^2(2)=11.127$, $p<.004$). One third of the JI group's children preferred to use only Japanese and another one third of the group preferred to use both Japanese and English. Thus the children of the JI group are more likely to maintain Japanese. On the other hand, none of the children of the combined group preferred Japanese to English. English was dominant in this group. This might be interpreted as an evidence of their shift to English.

Table 4: Parental evaluation of children's preferred use of languages: JI group vs. NJI + I group (%)

	JI group (N=45)	NJI + I group (N=11)
Japanese	37.7	0
English	28.8	81.8
Both	33.3	18.1

Frequency of linguistic interaction in the home was compared. In the JI group, both a Japanese spouse and his/her children are likely to use Japanese more than English. This is not the case with the NJI group. The data also showed a fairly massive shift to English in the second generation of the NJI group.

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Table 5: Comparative frequency of linguistic interaction in the home (%)

	From parents to children		From children to parents	
	Japanese	English	Japanese	English
The JI group	61.2	35.0	43.7	26.2
The NJI group	16.6	75.0	8.3	66.6
The I group	71.1	28.8	20.0	26.6

4.3.1.3 Discussion

The results demonstrate that social identity determine children's language maintenance. The JI group has hard group bpundaries while the combined group has soft group boundaries. These differences in social identity between the two (or three) groups influence linguistic interaction in the home, which may lead to children's maintenance of Japanese language.

4.3.2 The effect of three subgroups of Japanese wives' social identity

4.3.2.1 Perceived group boundaries

Concerning naming of children ($X^2(4)=24.97$, $p<.01$), interesting differences also appeared between them. A majority of the war brides gave their children Australian names. None of them used a Japanese name. In contrast, nearly 70 per cent of the JS wives gave Japanese names while the remainder used both Japanese and Australian names. The NJS wives' naming of children was more varied than that of both the war rides and the JS wives.

Table 6: Naming of children: war brides vs. NJS wives JS wives

	War brides (N=8)	NJS wives (N=20)	JS wives (N=17)
Japanese form	0	10.0	64.7
Australian form	87.5	25.0	0
Both forms	12.5	65.0	35.2

In contrast, non-significant differences appeared in the sapects of perceived degree of acculturation and endogamy for themselves.

4.3.2.2 Children's language maintenance

Some differences appeared between the three groups in children's acquisition of the first language ($X^2(4)=10.083$, $p<.05$). None of the children of the war brides acquired Japanese first. A great number of them acquired English. In contrast to them stand the children of the JS wives. Nearly three quarters of them acquired Japanese first. The children of the NJS wives stand midway on the continuum from those of the war brides to those of the JS wives. The proportion of children's acquisition of Japanese and English is almost oppostite in the NJS and JS wives.

Table 7: Acquisition of the first language:
War brides vs. NJS wives vs. JS wives

	War brides (N=7)	NJS wives (N=19)	JS wives (N=18)
Japanese	0	26.3	72.2
English	85.7	63.1	22.2
Both	14.2	10.5	5.5

The following tentative gross comaparisons of linguistic interaction in the home between the children of three subgroups of Japanese wives confirm the results shown in Table 11. No Japanese is used in the home by both the war brides and their children. The data show a fairly massive shift to English in the second generation of the NJS wives.

Table 8: Comparative frequency of linguistic interaction in the home (%)

	From parents to children		From children to parents	
	Japanese	English	Japanese	English
War brides	0	75.0	0	62.5
The NJS wives	58.3	54.1	16.6	50.0
The JS wives	68.0	50.0	56.0	50.0

4.3.2.3 Discussion

These findings also show that social identity determines children's language maintenance. It is noticeable that the children of the war brides are likely to shift to English rapidly, followed by those of the NJS wives.

4.3.3 Language attitudes of the second generation Japanese speakers

Only one separate chi-square test on each of the twelve traits was used. As Table 7 and 8 show, in general the second generation Japanese speakers signifcantly showed more favourableness to Australian guises.

Table 9: Chi-square values for significant contrasts in
Japanese teenage bilingual's mean ratings of M

Traits rated higher for the Australian guise			
Tall	23.0****	Wise	4.7****

Note: There were no traits rated higher for the Japanese guise.

Table 10: Chi-square values for significant contrasts in
Japanese teenage bilingual's mean ratings of KA

Traits rated higher for the Australian guise			
Tall	8.28****	Helpful	15.3****
Good-looking	7.52****	Intelligent	11.9****
Nice	11.6****	Self-confident	29.22***
Trustworthy	21.0***	Wise	14.4***

Note: There were no traits rated higher for the Japanese guise.

But as Table 3 shows, unexpected results were found in their speech evaluations when they compared Japanese and Japanese-accented English. They evaluated the Japanese guise more highly only in the trait of self-confident.

Table 11: Chi-square values for significant contrasts in
Japanese teenage bilingual's mean ratings of Y

Traits rated higher for the Japanese guise	
Self-confident	4.14****

Note: There were no traits rated higher for the Australian guise.

The findings gained from this experiment agreed with an earlier study conducted by Lambert et al. (1960). Japanese teenagers residing in Melbourne perceived the same speakers significantly differently when they heard each of their two languages. They perceived the speakers more favourably when the speakers spoke English than Japanese. Such language attitudes will lead them to shift to English.

4.3.4 Underlying cognitive process of three subgroups of Japanese wives

4.3.4.1 Language attitudes

The overall present findings indicate that all of the three subgroups regarded standard Japanese and Australian guises in the same way. There was no statisitically significant difference between them. However, they showed negative attitudes towards Japanese-accented English. Especially, the JS wives showed a significant difference on the two traits of good looks (X^2=4.40, p<.05) and diligence (X^2=5.86, p<.025) in the direction of the Japanese guise.

4.3.4.2 Perceived ethnolinguistic vitality

Significant differences occurred in the cognitive representations of Japanese ethnolinguistic vitality in Australia among the three subgroups of Japanese wives. As Tables 12, 13 and 14 show, the present findings indicated that both the war brides and the NJS wives regarded English-Australians as having more vitaltiy than the Japanese while the JS wives regarded the Japanese as having more vitality. The former two groups agreed that English-Australians possessed more vitality on most of the dimensions, although subtle significant differences appeared between their evaluations. The latter, however, significantly judged Japanese to have more vitality than English-Australians on six traits. The JS wives considered that Japanese had a higher rate of birthrate than English-Australians. They also considered that the Japanese language was more highly regarded locally than English. Furthermore, Japanese language was perceived as being used more often in government services, business and religious worship. At the same time they perceived that Japanese would have more group vitality in the future. This might imply that they still have a higher degree of recognition of group membership and awareness of the hard boundary between in-and the outgroup. Therefore, these different perceptions of the two subgroups contrasting in-and outgroup societal positions are explicable in terms of Tajfel and Turner's social identity theory. It can be argued that these findings from this initial use of the SVQ are a reflection of each subgroup of Japanese wives accentuating valued societal differences in their direction as a means of maintaining a positive social identity (Tajfel and Turner 1979).

Table 12: Chi-square values for significant contrasts in war-brides' subjective vitality ratings of Japanese and English-Australians

Traits rated higher for English-Australians	
Proportion of population	6.12***

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Percieved language status	4.41**
Perceived language status internationally	6.48***
Amount of J/E in government service	18.6***
Amount of J/B in mass media	10.5****
Amount of J/E in political power	8.0****
Amount of J/E in business	8.69****
Amount of J/E in religious worship	12.3****

Notes: J/E indicates Japanese/English.
There were no traits rated higher for Japanese.

Table 13: Chi-square values for significant contrasts in non-Japanese spouse wives' subjective vitality ratings of Japanese and English-Australians

Traits rated higher for English-Australians	
Proportion of population	25.27****
Proportion of J/E locally	33.37****
J/E immigration patterns	12.0****
J/E emigration patterns	8.0****
Percieved language status	7.93****
Perceived language status internationally	14.55***
Amount of J/E in government service	56.7***
Amount of J/B in mass media	46.53****
Amount of J/E in school	15.9
Amount of J/E in political power	27.3****
Amount of J/E in business	51.79****
Amount of J/E in religious worship	51.79****
Evaluation of group representation culturally	12.09****
J/E group strength	10.7****

Notes: J/E indicates Japanese/English.
There were no traits rated higher for Japanese.

Table 14: Chi-square values for significant contrasts in the Japanese spouse wives' subjective vitality ratings of Japanese and English-Australians

Traits rated hgiher for English-Australians	
Proportion of population	11.13****
J/E emigration pattern	8.71****
J/E business control	10.26****
Traits rated higher for Japanese	
J/E birth rate	4.63**
Perceived language status	6.96****

Amount of J/E in government service	14.66****
Amount of J/E in business	3.93**
Amount of J/E in religious worship	3.95**
Projected group vitality	9.22**

5 Concluding remarks

Overall, the findings indicate that children's Japanese language use is declining in the home and in interactions with Japanese spouses. Especially, the children whose mother has non-Japanese identity are likely to shift to English rapidly. So Japanese spouse's social identity, especially Japanese wives' social identity, is one of the factors which influence children's Japanese maintenance or shift.

If Japanese language is to be revived and sustained among young speakers of Japanese background in Melbourne, especially successive generations of speakers, some external intervention by both government language policy and the Japanese community would seem to be called for in terms of social identity. First of all, the Australia government should support the ideal of multiculturalism and establish a social milieu and educational system where each student can learn a community language at all levels. Secondly, given the role of a home domain for language maintenance, the Japanese immigrant parents should also be encouraged to communicate with their children in Japanese and make a comfortable atmosphere for the children's language use at home so that their active use of Japanese can be fostered (Döpke, McNamara and Quinn 1991). Doing so might well have a significant and beneficial effect on the abilities of the young to use Japanese, as well as on the possiblity of its inheritance to future generations.

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